

# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

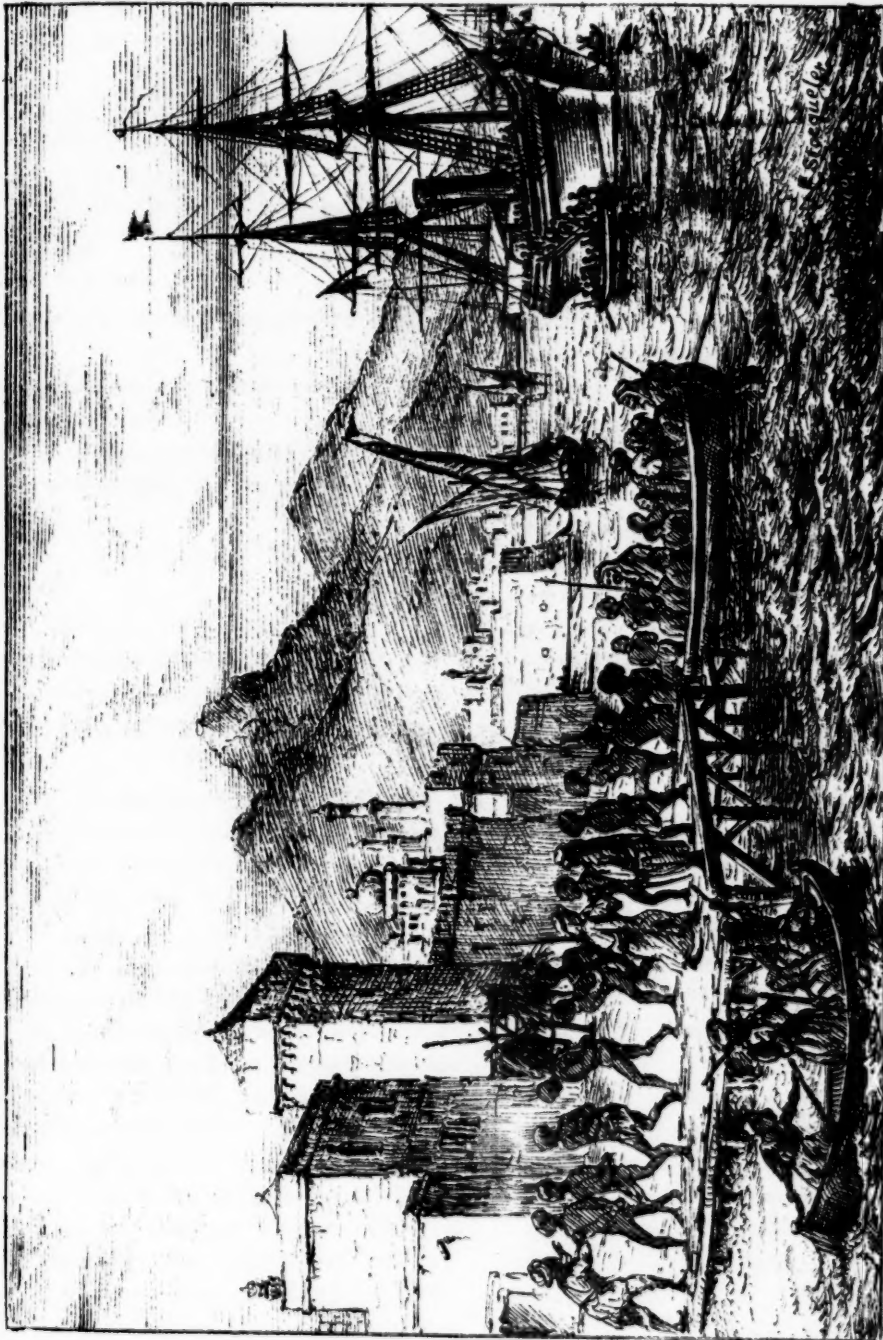
UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

**Vol. 20, No. 9.**

**MAY, 1877.**

{ Price 3<sup>d</sup>. Stamped.  
{ Threepence Unstamped.



SLAVE-TRADE IN THE RED SEA.--SLAVES BEING LANDED AT JEDDAH.

Whitman &amp; Bass, Photo Litho in the Queen 238 Hick Hollows

# ATTEST: REPORT

THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE

January 1, 1901



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### THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE RED SEA.

THE illustration of this month will, it is hoped, fix in the memories of our readers a profound impression of what is now taking place on the Red Sea. We are anxious that it should be clearly understood that, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, in spite of the Khedive's promises, as well as his loudly-vaunted naval expeditions to put down the traffic in the Red Sea, the traffic is as active, nay, much more active, than it has ever been. And this is our witness. "The British Consulate at Jeddah, directed to give the subject special attention, reported recently to Her Majesty's Agent in Egypt that the 'movement (*i.e.* export) of slaves from the Egyptian ports and coasts of the Red Sea amounts to not less than 30,000, probably to 50,000 yearly, and that Egyptian officials not only con-

nive at, but are generally the chief agents, in the prosecution of the trade.' And it will hardly be credited, but it is true nevertheless, that the Khedive's steamers continually bring slaves, especially the pale and expensive ones, from Suakin and Massowah to Jeddah." It is this fact which is represented to our readers in our illustration. The fact is notorious enough at Jeddah. So many are interested in the traffic—the officials, Egyptian, and Turkish receiving direct profit from the system, that the few foreigners are afraid to expose the iniquity. These foreigners are engaged in trade, and their exposure would at once be fatal to their position. The representatives of foreign Governments know well the art of "seeing and not perceiving"—of keeping silence in the presence of the greatest violations of natural rights and humanity.

We hear that the Egyptian *Tor*, under the command of Morice Bey, has reached Massowah. It is said that she searched the whole coast from Suez to Massowah—the Egyptian litoral—and did not discover a single dhow with slaves; saw no signs of the slave-trade, and therefore the trade is a mere myth, invented by the enemies of the Khedive. This result exceeds in its impudence what we had anticipated, and shows how thoroughly the Egyptians believe in the credulity of Englishmen. We did think that one or two dhows would have been captured, a few score of slaves taken and liberated, and in this way a demonstration given to the world of the anti-slavery zeal of the Khedive. We did believe that the enormous extent of the trade would have been discredited by a few captures. But, no; not one dhow was taken—not a trace of the trade was to be seen. *Credat Judaeus Apella*. As Morice Bey is an Englishman, we may add that there may be no dishonesty on his part. It is just possible that the report is verbally true. Slavers were thoroughly warned weeks beforehand of the intended search. The date of the search was well announced. The time of year also when the pilgrims to Mecca had returned home, was naturally a dull time in the trade, so his search may have been fruitless. But the whole expedition, in its intention, its execution, and its result, was only a blind. There is abundant positive evidence of the enormous traffic. The stoppage could not have lasted more than a few days.

That the present war may diminish the demand for a time, is not at all improbable; but the victory of Turkey—if she does gain the victory, which is extremely doubtful—will prove a new era in the trade. Islam and slavery are co-extensive. The social fabric of Moham-medanism is rooted in slavery—in the necessary massacres and the barbarities of the slave-trade in Africa. Villages are burning, men are being shot down by the thousands like partridges, women and children are being seized, driven hundreds of miles over the routes to the sea coast, and the route can be traced by the bleaching bones of those too weak to bear the

hardship of the journey and the sorrows of the massacre, in order to supply the service and lusts of Mussulmans. "But what then?" says diplomacy, "it is a domestic question." No severer satire could be pronounced on the wisdom and humanity of modern politics.

"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain; . . . and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true; dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

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#### NEWS OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE RED SEA.

In the last number of our *Reporter*, we ventured to predict that the "Egyptian force will fail to see dhows hidden in small creeks and bays, or in the darkness of the night, while the heat will be a sufficient pretext for any shortcoming." Besides, it would only be a continuance of "time-honoured custom," if ample notice was given to the slave-trader of any attempt to put a stop to his trade. This expedition was announced weeks beforehand, and by such means our prophecy has been literally fulfilled. Morice Bey may be a fair type of an English officer, but this failure of his cruise proves how the cunning of the Egyptian is more than a match for even the vigilance of an English officer. Strange as it may seem, we have information from the most reliable source, that the traffic in slaves on the Red Sea is, at the present moment, very active indeed. No doubt there is an enormous increase of slave-traffic carried on by, and during, the Mecca pilgrimage, but this is beyond the regular trade. Mr. Wylde, the British Vice-Consul at Jeddah, as reported in our January number, describes what he saw at Suakim, and at other places.

This expedition was sent during the dull period of the annual traffic; and by its utter failure to expose what is notoriously going on in the Red Sea, is shown to be another attempt to throw dust in the eyes of Europe—of those who still believe in the sincerity of the Khedive's profession to put down the slave-trade.



Under date April 2nd, the Alexandria correspondent of the *Standard*, writes:—

"No intelligence has been received of the fate of the missing members of the crew of the corvette *Latif*, the larger of the two ships of war comprising the Khedive's anti-slavery expedition. The other vessel, the *Tor*, had arrived at Massowah three weeks since, with Morice Bey on board, and was actively pursuing the object of her cruise. Gordon Pacha had left Massowah on 15th of March, for a place called Sanheit, three days' journey inland, where he hopes to meet Zulu, the Commander-in-Chief of King John's army, and arrange an armistice, if not a permanent treaty of peace. The Egyptian troops had all been withdrawn into Massowah, with the exception of 2,000 men, who are strongly entrenched at Sanheit, and may therefore be regarded as safe for the present. Gordon is believed to be sanguine as to the prospects of his mediation with the Abyssinian monarch, and has gone so far as to send back to Suez some 250 of the garrison of Massowah. With the improved aspect of affairs trade has shown symptoms of reviving, and hides and other produce are beginning to arrive from Abyssinia. Major Barlow, the officer whose warlike mission to that country was brought to so premature a close, is still at Suez, and, in all probability will not be able to join King John's banner until, through Gordon's pacific efforts, the major will find his occupation gone. He denies most positively ever having passed under an assumed name, as alleged, and asserts that he was arrested at Massowah before even landing, or having had his passport demanded. *Morice Bey has examined all the coast from Suez to Berbera; Cape Gardafui, and Zelu, though as yet without coming across any slaves dhows.* There is reason to believe that the present is not the best time of year for the purpose, and it is said that the greater part of the traffic is carried on during the great Mecca pilgrimage, and not now. As many as 12,000 slaves are annually exported to the opposite shore from Souakim, and it is clear that, in order to check the traffic, it is necessary to have not mere temporary cruisers, but vessels permanently stationed both there and at Massowah. Morice Bey's cruise will extend as far as Aden, after leaving which place he will proceed along the coast to Suez, where he is expected to arrive early in the month of May."

#### BARON DE COSSON IN ABYSSINIA.

BARON DE COSSON has recently published an account of his visit, in 1873, to the Court of King John of Ethiopia. He navigated the Red Sea, crossed the Highlands of Abyssinia from Massowah to Galabab, visited Khartoum and Berber, on the Nile, and crossed the desert to Suakim. Our readers will find in this number of our *Reporter* several extracts on different subjects taken from his narrative. His views upon the annexation of Abyssinian territory by the Khedive accord with those which have been pressed by the Anti-Slavery Society upon Lord Derby, and his proofs show the value of the Khedive's denial of any such design. The volumes are exceedingly interesting, and give a vivid picture of the Abyssinian court. In a review of this work—called "The Cradle of the Blue Nile"—the *Athenæum* (April 14, 1877) remarks:—

"Of the slave-trade, the author confirms the worst accounts that have reached us hitherto. King John has certainly promised to suppress the detestable traffic within his dominions; but, even should he have the power to accomplish this, his action will prove of small avail while the Egyptian authorities are permitted to carry it on without hindrance. The edicts against the slave-trade issued by the Khedive are altogether illusory. They are intended to appease the public opinion of Europe; but as long as the wives of European Consuls at Cairo are permitted to accept valuable presents from the Khedive, these officials are not likely to insist upon the enforcement of the regulations, and until the Consuls insist, the regulations will not be enforced."

"It is high time that the European Governments, and, above all, that of England, should take the suppression of the slave-trade in Egypt and the Red Sea into their own hands, for the edicts against it issued hitherto are foredoomed to remain inoperative."

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#### KING JOHN'S INDICTMENT AGAINST THE KHEDIVE.

"THESE friendly sentiments, the king said, had given him great joy, and he had ordered a copy of Her Majesty's (the

Queen's) letter to him to be placed in the principal churches of his country. 'But with regard to the encroachments of the Egyptians,' his majesty continued, 'your Government informs me that they have questioned the Khedive, and that he has answered that he has *not* taken any land from Ethiopia, and has *no* intention of taking any in the future; so they think my fears must be unfounded. Now, what Ismael Pasha (the Khedive), has said to your Government is false. He told me that the frontier of his country was the Mareb, and now he has taken, beyond the Mareb, the countries of Halhal, Kayekh-bared, Tsellim-bared, Bogos, Taander, Henbub, Mennoa, Ailet, Asgede-bukgala, Zula, Tora, Semhali, Amphilla, and all the land from the highlands to the sea, called Hamasen. These he has taken from me, and all that now remains to me of Hamasen is that part which is situated on the highlands. Moreover, all the world knows that the Shangalla country is mine. After Mr. Powell was murdered by the Shangallas, his brother went to Ismael Pasha to ask for assistance to avenge his death, but Ismael Pasha said he could not give it, as the murder was not committed in his country; and when Mr. Powell's brother came to me, I said the blood of the murdered man is my blood, and sent a strong army and punished the Shangallas for the murder; yet now Ismael Pasha says that country is his. Also, there is a land behind Condar, called Waklim, formerly the residence of the sons of the kings of Ethiopia, which Ismael Pasha now claims to be his frontier, and has occupied with his troops. He has besides taken my subject, named Sheik Jumar, who was my Governor of Metemma, and has had him chained and flogged for several days, and then sent to Egypt; while his soldiers have plundered the country that paid me tribute. My friends, I will tell you another thing. There is a great convent, called Waldubba, where many monks and priests teach the people the Gospel and faith of Christ, and pray for all the world. The Shangallas came out to shed their blood, and refused to pay me tribute. Now, is there not a law that enables a king to punish men that disobey him, and refuse to pay their just tribute? The Apostles, St. Paul, and the book of the law throughout the world, allow that there is. So I sent troops

to punish these rebels; but Ismael Pasha wrote to me, saying, "Send me the chief you have sent against the Shangallas, that I may punish him, for he has killed *my* people." Thus does he ever craftily seek to raise a quarrel with me, and advances his troops into my country, and takes it from me, compelling the people to abandon their faith, and placing my *shoums* in chains. Judge, then, if I am not oppressed! Ismael Pasha does these things because he is ambitious of worldly greatness, and wishes to damage Christianity, and establish Mohammedanism in Ethiopia, and make us his slaves, and the slaves of the devil. He has taken Zula and Amphilla Bay, which were mine, and charges a duty, equal to double its market value, on all merchandise exported from my country. Thus am I encompassed on all sides by the Mohammedans, who allow me no port or outlet by which I may communicate with other nations, and advance the prosperity and civilisation of my kingdom. Oh! my friends, I pray you, let this be known in your country, and how much we desire a port, that we may hold intercourse with other nations. But,' continued the king—and here his eyes flashed with the true expression of a soldier—'I will fight to the last if so it may be; but I do not wish that the blood of thousands should be shed if the intervention of the European Powers can prevent it. Let them determine the true frontiers of my country, and by their decision I am content to abide.'—*De Cosson*, vol. ii., pp. 40-42.

#### PURCHASE OF SLAVES AT MAS-SOWAH, FOR THE HAREM OF PRINCE —.

"SOMETIME before our arrival at Massowah, an armed sloop one morning anchored in the harbour, and displayed the vice-regal flag of Egypt, as a signal that she had on board a great dignitary of the State, with a firman from the Khedive. Of course all Massowah was in a state of excitement, and the governor hastened to his divan, trembling in his slippers, for he well knew what short notice an Eastern potentate gives to a servant who has fallen into disgrace, and a horrible conviction forced itself on his mind, that the great personage who had arrived in such state must be a new

governor come to supersede him. Although the days have passed when a pacha knew that each firman might contain an order to get himself strangled forthwith, after which it would only remain for him to kiss reverentially the seal of his princely master, and execute his behest, a royal firman is still looked upon with great respect in the East (where to hear is proverbially to obey), and the Governor of Massowah prepared to receive his guest with all due ceremony. This distinguished person at last arrived, attended by a numerous retinue. He was a tall, stout Nubian, of ebony blackness, and low indeed were the *salaams* that greeted him, for he proved a far greater man than a new Governor, or even a military pacha. In fact he was chief eunuch of the household to the Khedive's mother, and had come to require that Massowah should furnish some hundred or so of slaves and eunuchs for the royal ceremonies at Cairo, which I have before alluded to. While this slave stayed, his word was law, and his slightest wish humbly obeyed; and when he left he was accompanied to the shore with as much ceremony and honour as if he had been a great general, or distinguished minister. Thus, in the anomalous state of Eastern society, the governor of a province may yet find himself the servant of a slave."

—*De Cosson*, vol. i. pp. 19-20.

#### A FEMALE SLAVE AND HER BABE ORDERED TO BE SOLD AT CAIRO TO PAY HER MASTER'S DEBTS.

OUR correspondent at Cairo writes, under date 13th April :—"Yesterday the Government Procureur appeared in the Mixed Tribunal here on behalf of a creditor of an Italian bankrupt. It transpired that the bankrupt had been living with a coloured woman, and, in fact, she was in court, with a child in her arms. With regard to this woman, the Government Procureur addressed to the judge some remarks that seemed at first to stagger His Honour, but, recovering his judicial equanimity, he asked the Procureur to formulate his demand in writing, and here is an exact transcript of the document that was handed in :—

"Dans l'affaire entre la Dame La Croix contre Rammasso Chiani, Le Ministère Public a conclu : Que vu que la cession faite par le dit Chiani, de certaines effets et bijoux est faite à une négresse qui habite avec Chiani, et que cette femme était une esclave, et que conséquemment tout ce qu'elle possède appartient à son maître il faut vendre tous les biens et effets de la dite négresse et tous ces vêtements et l'esclave même et l'argent profit de la vente devait être divisé entre les créanciers du dit Chiani."

#### BARBARITY OF THE EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS AT MASSOWAH.

"THE Khedive professes to have abolished slavery in his dominions, but I found a slave market flourishing at Galabat, when the town was garrisoned by Egyptian troops, and I will now relate an instance of the way slaves are treated at Massowah; my authority being M. de Sarzec, late Vice-Consul for France at that port, and present French Consul at Bussorah.

First case.—A slave applied at the Consulate for protection, M. de Sarzec accordingly demanded his card of emancipation from the Governor of Massowah, but was informed—first, that the freedom of no slave would be recognised unless he could prove in a court of inquiry that he had been *cruelly* treated by his master; secondly, that such court must be composed *exclusively* of Mohammedans; and thirdly, that if the slave *were* granted his freedom, he must enter the Khedive's army, *i.e.* exchange one servitude for another.

Second case.—A woman begged for protection, stating that she had been made a slave, although she was the wife of a soldier in the Khedive's army. M. de Sarzec demanded her freedom of the local government, which, as usual, refused his application; he therefore gave the woman a card, stating her to be under the protection of the French Consulate, but shortly afterwards her husband complained that, notwithstanding this, his wife had been forcibly seized by her master, and again placed in captivity. M. de Sarzec thereon made a second application for her freedom, which was again refused, while the unfortunate



soldier was placed in irons and imprisoned for upwards of two months, as a punishment for having dared to protest against the enslavement of his wife; it was only when a French frigate entered the port of Massowah, and, at the Consul's request, refused to salute the Governor's flag, that the Egyptian officials became alarmed, and set the woman free, just four months after M. de Sarzec's first application. It may be imagined, therefore, how many slaves are released in a year.

"The following anecdote will also give some idea of Egyptian justice. After the Magdala campaign, an Abyssinian, named Wolkaiti Beru, who had been educated at Malta, and enjoyed both English and French protection, was commissioned to accompany the gifts sent by the British Government to Prince Kassa. He performed this duty and returned to Massowah, where he had not been long, before he was summoned into the presence of M. Munzinger, the governor, who ordered him to relate what was the purport of the letters addressed by England to Prince Kassa, and also what the Prince had said in reply. On Beru's refusing to commit this breach of trust, he was immediately given 200 blows with the bastinado, and cast into prison, where he was kept without the knowledge of the French Consul, although M. Munzinger knew perfectly well that he was under French protection, as he himself had formerly been French Consul at Massowah, and signed Wolkaiti's papers in that capacity. Beru could not communicate with his Consul, but the King of Abyssinia learned his position, and expressed to M. Sarzec his surprise that an agent who had been sent to him by England should receive such treatment. The French Consul thereon, of course, took immediate measures to procure Beru's release, which, however, he only obtained by threatening to take down his flag, and after the poor fellow had been six weeks in the common gaol of Massowah, suffering the greatest hardships."—*De Cosson's "Trade of the Blue Nile."*

#### HOW LIBERATED SLAVES ARE TREATED BY THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.

"A GERMAN at Cairo, who had been in the Egyptian telegraph service, told me a very

ugly story, to the effect that while he was stationed at Khartoum, some slave dhows were taken, and the slaves, several hundred in number, temporarily inclosed in a large building near the Blue Nile. The capture was telegraphed to Cairo, and made the most of; but it was nobody's business in the meantime to look after the slaves, and they were left shut up in their enclosure, many of them still chained together as they had been taken from the dhows. When, after a week or two, instructions about them arrived from Cairo, the enclosure was visited, but it was then found that the slaves, who had been so generously set free by the Egyptian Government, had saved that Government all further trouble, for the poor creatures, unable to get out of the enclosure, had died of thirst and starvation where they lay. I trust, for the sake of humanity, that this was an exceptional case; there seems, however, little doubt that the so-called liberty accorded to slaves means that, if they are women, they are given to the soldiers, while, if they are men, they merely change masters, and have to serve in the army which is thus economically recruited."—*De Cosson.*

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#### THE SLAVE MARKET AT GALABAT.

"We rode into a large field outside the town, where were a number of long low booths, made very roughly of branches. Each of these booths was divided into several little compartments, the interior of which was hidden from view by curtains of native cloth hung in front of them. The slave merchants sat smoking beside their booths with Arab gravity. We visited them one after the other, and they led us into the different compartments, expatiating on the beauty and merits of their slaves, very much as a dealer shows off his horses. Galla and Abyssinian girls were numerous, and averaged from thirty to seventy dollars. Over the head of each was thrown a piece of cotton cloth, which concealed her features till her turn came to be inspected, when the dealer removed it, like an upholsterer uncovering a chair. They had scarcely any clothing, and sat crowded together in their little cells, with the African sun burning down on the flat roof close above their heads, in an atmosphere which was perfectly stifling.



"Many of these young girls were very beautiful: their colour was often not darker than that of a Spanish gipsy, their features were small and delicate, their forms proportioned like a Greek statue, and their eyes large and lustrous. I have been told that these fair children, (for they were little more), who are brought here from the Galla country, Showa, Wooma, and other parts of Abyssinia, are of a gentle and affectionate disposition, and faithful and loving to those who treat them kindly. They did not seem to know Arabic, and their masters made them do what they wished by signs. I heard no weeping or lamentation; but though they were all so young, I did not see a single smiling face, and their lot seemed a sad one indeed; transported, at the very spring time of life, into a strange country, to be given up body and soul to the highest bidder. I believe they are generally bought by merchants, who send them to Arabia, where, if they be Christians, they are soon made to renounce their faith. Occasionally it may happen that one of these girls gets into a good harem; but for one that does numbers die on the way, from change of climate, change of food,—*too often indeed the want of it*—and the long, long journey across the deserts under a broiling sun. They say that all people who live among mountains love their country; and I have often thought how these poor girls must think of the green valleys among their native hills when, like caged birds, they gaze through their lattices at Jeddah, on the hot sands of Arabia el Hidjaz. Indeed, I afterwards heard, when I was at Jeddah, that one of these fair prisoners had recently flung herself from her window into the street below, preferring death to captivity."

"While I was in one of the booths, a beautiful young Galla girl, some seventeen years old, happened to take the fancy of an old man, who might—except so far as beauty was concerned—have very well been her grandfather. The veil was torn from her shoulders by the merchant, and she was made to stand up and display her beauty. The customer felt and examined carefully her teeth, feet, hands and knees, very much as people look at the points of a horse. Then came the haggling about the price, the old octogenarian beating down the merchant, dollar by dollar, though the merchant only asked ten

pounds for her, the price of a good mule. All this time the poor girl was looking on with straining eyes, trying to read her fate in the merchant's face, for she could not understand what he was saying. Probably, as there are two market days at Galabat every week for slaves, and this was the second day, she was doomed to be sold, for her owner wanted to get rid of his remaining stock; but they were still cheapening her when I left the stifling booth and stepped forth into the bright sunshine, where a lark, singing high up in the blue heavens, seemed to mock in its freedom a dejected crowd of negroes, just arrived from the neighbourhood of the White Nile, who sat huddled together, without distinction of sex or age, and some even with their hands still tied, for they were merely regarded as so many strong animals, to be sold cheap for the purposes of labour."—*De Cosson*, vol. ii. pp. 168-71.

#### AN EXAMPLE OF EGYPTIAN INTRIGUE.

"THE Egyptian Government had determined on taking Bogos, a province of Abyssinia, and thought it might be able to make use of Aba Kassié, if it could secure him. The robber chief's career had been a long course of plunder, murder, and rapine, and a price was now set on his head, which placed his life in constant danger. When, therefore, he received an intimation to go to Massowah, and treat with the Khedive's Government, he gladly accepted it, but no sooner had the Egyptians got him into their power than they seized him and shut him up as a prisoner in the house we afterwards occupied, at the same time allowing him a pension of twenty dollars a month, in case they might later require him as a friend. They then sent Hassan with a small cannon as a peace-offering to Prince Kassa, and an offer to deliver up to him the body of Aba Kassié, if he would agree not to oppose their occupation of Bogos. This proposal was, however, received by Kassa with the scorn it deserved, and shortly afterwards Aba Kassié made his escape from Massowah, as I have before narrated. Probably the Egyptian Government was not sorry that he should return to Abyssinia to do as much mischief as he could. At all events, they certainly used him as a bugbear to frighten us from our journey to that country."—*De Cosson*. Vol. i., pp. 83, 84.

## PORTUGAL AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE following correspondence has taken place with the Foreign Office, in relation to certain general practices of a decidedly slave-trade character, in the Portuguese possession of Mozambique. The Law of Emancipation was passed on the 29th April, 1875, the emancipation to take place twelve months, not from the passing of the law at Lisbon, but from the date of the publication of the law in each Portuguese colony. Lord Derby informs us that this proclamation took place in Mozambique, on the 29th January, 1876. It could not, therefore, come into force, until 29th January, 1877 so recently that no report of an actual emancipation has yet reached us. Indignation does, under the circumstances, appear premature:—

*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,  
27, New Broad Street, E.C.*

*March 6th, 1877.*

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DERBY, H.M.'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

My LORD,—We beg to call your Lordship's attention to the enclosed statement which appears in the *Times* newspaper of today, and which, we have ascertained from Viscount Duprat, the Consul-General for Portugal in London, is an authentic and authorised statement on the part of the Government. Your Lordship will notice in the paragraph we have taken the liberty to place a mark against, that slavery as well as the status of "libertos" is absolutely extinct in the Portuguese possessions wherever they exist. May we ask that your Lordship will be pleased to give special instructions to Consul Elton to ascertain the date of the proclamation of the law of April 29th, 1875, in the different towns of Mozambique, and to make observations during his travels in the province of Mozambique, and in such outlying towns inhabited by the Portuguese as he may pass through, so that he may be able to inform H.M.'s Government how far this law has been carried out; and wherever he finds it partially or totally disregarded, as we have reason to believe that it is, in the Mozambique towns of Quillemane, Senna, and Tetti,—that he shall be instructed to call the attention of the Portuguese authorities

on the spot, to the fact of the illegality of slavery, and the status of "libertos."

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

We are, with much respect,

JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon. Secs.*  
EDMUND STURGE. }

AARON BUZACOTT, *Secretary.*

### REPLY.

*Foreign Office, March 14, 1877.*

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 6th inst., I am directed by the Earl of Derby to state to you that the law declaring all slaves and libertos free in Mozambique was published in that Colony on the 29th of January, 1876, and should therefore have come in force on the 29th of January last, being one year after its publication.

The mail from Mozambique missed the steamer at Aden, and nothing has therefore been heard from Her Majesty's Consul at Mozambique as to the effects of the law in question, but that officer has been instructed to avail himself of the opportunity which will be afforded him by a journey he is about to undertake through part of his consular district to inquire into and report on the manner in which the law has been carried into effect.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

*The Secretary, British and Foreign  
Anti-Slavery Society.*

*27, New Broad Street, London, E.C.*

## RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION ON THE GOLD COAST.

WE gladly quote the following extract of a letter from Elias Shrenck, of the Basle Mission:—

"In our school department an important change has taken place during the last fifteen months. The abolition of slavery has made every Gold Coast child a free child. Formerly we redeemed children very frequently; now that is all passed, thank God! Every father can send his child to school, if he has courage to do it. Most of the slaves remained with their masters. The proclamation of their freedom has not changed their outward position, but it will be changed gradually the more education is spread and free labour valued.

In one district, where slaves have been treated badly, many have left their masters. Just in that district people ask for teachers ; and my friend, who is a black brother, who is stationed there, writes lately that he believes the day of salvation has now come for the people of Akim, which is the name of the district."

#### REVIVAL OF THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

A CORRESPONDENT gives the following information as to the revival of the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa. We have often warned our readers that the endeavour to put down the slave-trade by force, in opposition to the interests of selfish Mohammedans and slave-traders generally, can only produce temporary results. As soon as the force is removed the trade revives again. Nothing but the abolition of slavery as such, and sound commerce, can destroy the slave-trade. It is disheartening and distressing to read the following statements. Perfect reliance can be placed in our correspondent :—

" *Magila, Usambara,*

" *East Central Africa,*

" *March 13th, 1877.*

"It is generally supposed in England that the slave-trade here has received almost its death-blow, and that the English Government is making strenuous efforts to suppress it entirely. The Government has done a great deal ; it has several cruisers on the coast, the boats of H.M.S. *London* have done good work, much money is spent every year, but while the sea traffic has decreased it has only been replaced by the far more cruel land traffic. The Government stops just short where it ought to make the greatest effort. Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Zanzibar, devotes himself to the work ; and when the history of the suppression of the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa has to be written, Dr. Kirk will be found to have had the greatest share in it. After he had induced Seyyid Barghash to issue the proclamation, forbidding his subjects to bring slaves down

to the coast from the interior, and ordering all the Governors of the coast towns to set any free who were brought, there was a great cessation of the traffic, owing entirely to Dr. Kirk's activity in seeing the proclamation carried out ; but as soon as his consular duties required his presence in Zanzibar, and the Governors alone were left to execute the proclamation, it became a dead letter. Very soon I heard that slave-gangs were again passing constantly at Pangani. I have since heard at the rate of 200 per day. They come down from the interior to Kilwa, and since the sea traffic has been suppressed they have to march along the coast from Kilwa, through Pangani to Tanga ; from thence they are shipped across to Pemba, where slavery takes its most cruel form. The horrors of this journey are indescribable. A native Christian servant of mine, who goes to Zanzibar for our letters, saw at Pangani, January 3rd, on his way to Zanzibar, a gang of 300 or 400 slaves with iron collars round their necks—men, women, and children, chained together—their necks and shoulders one mass of sores produced by the collars ; they had not once been released from their chains from the time of their capture, neither would they be until they were finally disposed of to their purchasers.

"On his return journey he saw at Pangani, January 15th, another slave-gang still larger, also in iron collars and chains. On February 1st, a native chief, who had to go to Pangani, saw a very large gang, over 500, crossing the ferry at Pangani, all in chains. One of my English assistants, going from here to Zanzibar, went to the Governor's house at Pangani to wait for a dhow, and saw in the lower outer room seven slaves in chains. Now, from the time of their capture until they are sold, is a period of many months ; their sufferings during that time must be terrible. This will show what effect the proclamation has really had in stopping the slave-trade. Dr. Kirk has obtained from the Sultan the removal of two Governors, and has placed another there, but I do not think it will make the slightest difference. The Coast Arabs have told me they do not



care one bit for the proclamation. Seyyid Barghash has no power to enforce it ; and if it were not for the English support he has, they would soon turn him out, and get rid of the infidels altogether. His power is only nominal, and he is only obeyed as far as his people choose to obey him. The slave-trade is as rampant as ever just now.

#### A FALSE ECONOMY.

"Thousands are spent yearly on the cruisers, which, *per se*, are useless.

"Thousands are allowed to be wasted, as far as putting an end to the slave-trade is concerned, in payment of prize-money, but the Government will do nothing sensible to make that really of any use in ending the slave-trade. Dr. Kirk is without anything better or swifter than a native dhow to move about in ; at the very least this is a fearful loss of time. The Government must let him have a steamboat if it wants him to do anything effectually. This moving about the coast would make the slave-dealers afraid to attempt to run their slaves, whereas they always trust to escape the cruisers. The cruisers only catch about three per cent. of those that do run, and never deter them from starting. Dr. Kirk ought to have a few able assistants to help him to watch the coast. What can one man do in watching a thousand miles of coast ? The whole thing is a farce as now carried on ; we bully the Sultan, but do precious little to help him now he has submitted to our demands. For six months the Kilwa traffic was for all practical purposes at an end ; this was entirely due to Dr. Kirk's activity in keeping his eye upon the Governors, and it showed that with watchfulness we have the power to stop this trade ; but, of course, the office work of the Consulate must be heavy, and he cannot do both without extra help. As soon as it was known that he had returned to Zanzibar the slaves were brought down as before. We have to face an evil for which we are at bottom responsible. We spend—squander I should say—every year, a quarter of a million on this system of slave-trade suppression, and after almost succeeding, through the want of just those

additional means I have spoken of, the work has all to be gone through again. This is the height of folly, whether it be from parsimony in pence, or ignorance, or indifference. Here we have the means and power to crush this fearful traffic, and let every chance slip away. The only consolation I see is that, if things get worse, it may bring about the radical cure which I sincerely hope for as the only solution of the question. If this comes the Government will deserve no credit, for, as far as an outsider can see, we are simply drifting without design or purpose."

#### THE FIDELITY OF SEYYID BARGHASH.

"I think it ought to be clearly understood that, from policy, Seyyid Barghash is with us, but his authority is not sufficient to carry out his laws. Fear of detection will alone make his Governors obey them, and they know there is no fear of this so long as there are no white men to report. Every Arab and coast negro is a slave-dealer, and will never tell, and any Governor who really tried to stop the traffic would be hated, if not murdered."

#### NEED OF CONSULAR AGENTS.

"If we could have a Consular Clerk living at Kilwa, Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga, something might be done ; but the only effectual way would be for the Government to make a Liberia on the East Coast. Dr. Kirk sent a steam launch of H.M.S. *London* to watch the ferry at Pangani. I have to-day received information that hundreds of slaves are crossing daily at Chokaa, a ferry and town higher up the river."

#### NATIVE TRIBES INIMICAL TO THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"Now this country in which I am situated lies between Pangani and its river and Tanga and the coast and the Usambara Mountains. It is occupied by a small tribe called Bondri, which has an intense hatred of slavery. The chiefs have asked me to try and obtain the protection of the English Government for them, and they promise to assist, in any way they are required, the suppression of the slave-trade. The difficulty would be that the black people, who look upon Seyyid Barghash



as their sovereign, hold a fringe of coast about one mile wide, which shuts the Bondri off from the coast. If some arrangement could be made with Seyyid Barghash for a seaport, our Government could hold that and the natives could hold the interior, and then not a slave-gang could pass, and the traffic, as far as Pemba is concerned, would be at an end. There is a large stretch of fertile uncultivated land near the coast most suitable for a Liberia, and, with a sea-port, would be all that could be desired. I don't for a moment suppose the Government would listen to any such proposal, but still it shows that with a little trouble and energy, the traffic in human flesh might, to a great extent, be ended.

"There are now two great main streams of slavery in the world—both proceed from poor Africa; one is the stream that is constantly flowing from the countries around Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyiko to Zanzibar, or its dependencies; and the other, from those countries which have been lately brought under the power of Egypt—alas! by an Englishman—and which flows down the Nile to Egypt and Turkey. Islam and slavery are so bound up together that, wherever the former prevails, there *must* be the latter. When will Englishmen understand that Ismail Khedive of Egypt is the greatest slaveholder in the world, and that he does more to preserve and perpetuate the slave-trade than any other man in the world?"

#### SLAVERY IN THE TRANSVAAL.

THE last mail from the Cape of Good Hope gives us the following:—From the Transvaal news comes of the illegal arrest of the Rev. Mr. Thorne, an English clergyman, and the Rev. Mr. Nachtigal of the Berlin Missionary Society, on a charge of bringing false accusations of slavery against the Republic. They were brought before a Commission in a most arbitrary manner; but, on declining to give evidence, they were released. The Rev. Mr. Nachtigal, who has resided over twenty years in the country, is said to be in possession of an immense amount of evidence as to the existence of slavery in the Transvaal. The Rev. Mr.

Bauling, who was examined before a Commission, stated that a number of slaves were in the highveld, the slaves having been exchanged for horses. These facts may explain the violent opposition of some Boers to confederation.

#### DEPUTATION TO LORD CARNARVON.

##### COOLIE IMMIGRATION IN JAMAICA.

A DEPUTATION from the Anti-Slavery Society, consisting of the following gentlemen, had an interview with Lord Carnarvon, at the Colonial Office, on Friday, April 20th. Thomas Blake, Esq., M.P., George Errington, Esq., M.P., A. M'Arthur, Esq., M.P., Robert Fautleroy, Esq., J.P., Jamaica; Edmund Sturge, Esq., Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, William Allen, Esq., Stafford Allen, Esq., Rev. E. Hewitt, of Jamaica; F. W. Chesson, Esq., Dr. Underhill, J. Stoneman, Esq., P. Terry, Esq., Rev. Aaron Buzacott, &c.

Mr. BLAKE, M.P., said:—The deputation, my Lord, desire, on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society, to represent to your Lordship the views on this question, entertained by the coloured population of Jamaica in respect to coolie labour. As the gentlemen are fully acquainted with the subject, and there is a memorial to be presented, I will not take up any more of your Lordship's time, but will submit the names of the several speakers. The Memorial was as follows:—

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF CARNARVON, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—In the absence of representative government in the Island of Jamaica, which they recognise as a present, but not as a permanent necessity, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have again to discharge the duty which has devolved upon them, of representing to Her Majesty's Government the views of the working population of the Island on those questions which vitally affect their interests and their social condition.

They stated to your Lordship, in addressing you last year, that, "amid other and more pressing claims on their attention and

their exertions, the Committee would gladly have been spared the appeals that have been made to them in the interests of the peasantry of Jamaica on this question. But to these appeals, which are being made to the Committee to act on their behalf, they can find no answer to justify a refusal. They tell us, in varying language but to the same effect: 'The official staff of the Governor, only supplemented by non-official members chosen from the planting interest, has left us entirely unrepresented in the Council which governs the Island, while the same preponderating interest is supported in England by a powerful organisation of planters and merchants.' "

The Committee understand that the measure of the Legislative Council passed in May last, enacting that one-third of the cost of immigration be in future thrown on the general revenue of the Island—and at the same time those general principles on which Immigration to this Colony has heretofore been conducted, are about to receive your Lordship's mature consideration, with a view to their revision.

In the view of the people of Jamaica, this measure of the Legislative Council is a violation of the compromise, and settlement of the question, made during the late administration of Sir John Peter Grant. The Committee, however, forbear to dwell on this measure, inasmuch as the subject is necessarily included in those larger aspects of the question involved in the following facts and considerations now submitted to your Lordship, viz. :—

The Returns presented to Parliament disclose the following facts:

That since the year 1860 there have been imported into Jamaica 15,927 coolies.

That the cost of this immigration has amounted to £513,627.

That of this sum only £79,841 has been paid by those estates which received coolies.

That the sum of £58,773 has been paid directly from the general revenue of the Island.

That the balance, amounting to £375,013, is stated to have been paid "from Immigration revenues, or by loans redeemable from Immigration revenues."

This last and largest item, constituting two-thirds of the whole amount, is assumed to be no charge on the general revenue of the Island, or any burden on its population;

such a view to a large extent is illusory, as will appear from the following figures:—

There are in cultivation 240 Sugar Estates, of which 108, or rather more than two-fifths, employ indentured coolies.

The Immigration Fund is mainly derived from export duties, and the average Exports for the five years ending 1874 have been—

Duty paid in 1874.

Sugar.....32,000 hogsheads.....£8,164

Rum .....18,517 puncheons ... 4,154

Coffee ... 3,782 tons ..... 3,945

Logwood 71,681 tons ..... 3,294

It is estimated that of sugar, beyond the above quantity exported, no less than 12,000 tons are raised, not on the estates, but by the peasantry, and sold and consumed in the Island.

A careful appreciation of these statistics will show that only a limited portion of these duties appropriated to immigration is paid by those for whose benefit it is maintained, and that practically the burden is thrown on the entire body of the people, whose industry produces these articles; the fact being—

1st, That the amount really paid by the coolie estates is limited to their proportion of the first two of the above items; say in proportion of 108 to 132—or some £5,000 per annum.

2nd, That coffee and logwood were not produced by coolie labour.

3rd, That while the 12,000 tons of sugar sold for consumption in the Island pays no export duty, it realises a less price to the growers to the extent of the amount of the duty, and thus constitutes a tax on an industrious portion of the community who are numerically probably 100 to 1 to the owners of estates cultivated by coolies.

The Committee need hardly point out to your Lordship that the financial unsoundness inherent in the system has been greatly aggravated by the powers which were conceded by Her Majesty's Government to raise loans for the furtherance of the object. Those powers having been exhausted, this department of the Island Exchequer presents an aspect of hopeless insolvency, unless its liabilities are thrown, in some form or other, on the general taxation of the Colony.

In pointing out the financial and economical unsoundness on which Jamaica immigration has been conducted, there ap-

pears, in strong colours, the far graver feature of its surpassing injustice. It has enabled the planters, for whom the coolies have been imported, to keep down the wages of labour, by supplementing what may be estimated as one-half of its real cost, from the taxation of the people. Your Lordship may remember a practice in England, now condemned as vicious in the extreme, of supplementing agricultural wages from the parish rates; but this, bad as it was, had something to be said in its favour, inasmuch as it was a contribution from property and not from the labour of the people themselves.

The Committee now come to the last and most painful, but most important, count in their indictment of Jamaica Immigration: they refer to the demoralisation it has entailed, and is entailing, on the character of the Island. New and loathsome crimes have been introduced, while murders and brutal assaults are of frequent occurrence. Its fearful contribution to the criminal statistics of the Island appears from the following return:—

“The total number of prisoners confined in the general Penitentiaries, and in the district Prisons of Jamaica, on the 30th September, 1875, is given as 1,130. Of these the return of coolies is 347.”

While the coolies do not constitute one-fortieth part of the entire population, they thus contribute nearly one-third to its aggregate of crime. When it is added that of the 347 no less than 284 are confined for offences against the person the picture becomes dark indeed.

Such, my Lord, after a trial of more than a quarter of a century, has been the result of a scheme of immigration, entered on in reversal of those sound principles which had been previously laid down by Her Majesty's Government as those which should govern immigration. On behalf of the native population of Jamaica the Committee entreat your Lordship to bring this system to an early termination.

They would only be too glad were they able to indicate any plan by which the hopeless debt which it has accumulated might be liquidated without inflicting yet further injustice on the peasantry of the Island. Any such solution they fear is now impossible; and under the supreme necessity of bringing the present state of things

to an end, as in other cases of insolvent estates, the wrong done may have to be borne in order to effect it.

We are, with much respect,

On behalf of the Committee,

JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon.*

EDMUND STURGE } *Secs.*

AARON BUZACOTT, *Secretary.*

27, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

20th April, 1877.

Mr. STURGE: My Lord, you will observe, from the Memorial which has been presented, and which your Lordship has read, that we have heard from Jamaica that which leads us to say, that the case of that island is a peculiar and special case, which stands out, in some of its features, on altogether different grounds from the immigration—on which we have had to make representations to you and your predecessors—in the Mauritius, the Pacific, and other parts of the world. We think the case in Jamaica is peculiar from this circumstance, that the cost of the immigration has very much been defrayed by the peasantry of Jamaica. I think you will have seen in the Memorial that we have stated some strong facts in proof of that allegation. In respect to Jamaica, of all our colonies, I think there has been less occasion and less ground for advocating immigration than in almost any other, as there is there a large and abounding population, rapidly increasing, and quite sufficient for all the cultivation, and all the wants of the Island. There is no question that there has been in certain districts of the Island a want of labour for this reason. You are, happily, not so old as some of us, and cannot remember the state of things at the time of the emancipation. I hold in my hand a letter written a few days before the extinction of the apprenticeship system came into effect, which will throw a light on the *fons et origo mali* of the state of labour. It was written in July, 1838. “By the papers, I perceive that in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale the planters have come to the resolution to pay the apprentices but half a dollar for five days' labour, to be regulated by the master; but, except their house and ground and medical attendance, no other indulgence is to be allowed. The folly and tyranny of such a combination is obvious.” My lord, that is the system which unhappily prevailed to a very con-



siderable extent. It produced its natural results, and caused a considerable exodus from those parts of the Island; and there is no doubt that it will be difficult in those districts, except by a rather tedious process, to restore the labouring population. But we see, side by side in these events, that where the planters were resident, and the people regularly paid, or the planters non-resident, but represented by men who worthily fulfilled their duties, an abundance of labour was always accessible; and when we consider that at that time, and for some time afterwards, the planters had to contend with the abolition of all protective duties, they themselves having been nursed in a system of protection, it is obvious that the question of labour did not necessarily prevent the profitable production of sugar.

A point on which you will observe considerable stress is laid in the Memorial, is the question of the cost being so largely defrayed by the working population. In the list of the revenue of the Island, which I have before me—something over £500,000 a-year—you may safely say that a very infinitesimal proportion is derived from taxation of property. Something like £80,000 a-year is derived from the taxation on flour, salt fish, and the most necessary provisions of the people; and consequently they are the largest providers by far of the taxation of the Island. I will make one observation in connection with the first two paragraphs of the Memorial, which is this, that you will hardly be surprised at the considerable amount of dissatisfaction which has arisen, and given rise to an agitation for the restoration of representative government. Your Lordship will not be surprised that under the strong feeling which such measures have engendered, its legislation is dictated by the interests of the planters rather than by the welfare of the people, that an agitation should exist for the restoration of representative government. While the Committee have, I believe, been successful in imparting to their friends their own conviction that for the present such a change would not conduce to the better government of the Island, and would disappoint its advocates, they are by no means prepared to recognise the uncontrolled administration of the Crown as a perennial necessity in our tropical Colonies. The measures which have been taken, and with

so much success, for the extension of education, in happy contrast to those of which we have to complain, are laying the best foundation for the resumption of representative government in Jamaica at no remote period; but until that representation can be safely laid on a basis sufficiently wide, it would but prove the government of a class or a clique, of which we have just seen the disastrous result in the Island of Barbados.

The Rev. E. HEWITT said: There is no doubt that the difficulties of the labour question arose in the first instance from the conduct of the planters in regard to their relationship to the emancipated peasantry. In 1838, and onward to 1842, the people were driven off wholesale from the estates; their houses were torn up by the cattle; their bread fruit trees chopped down, and they were literally driven in hundreds from the different properties on which they had been born, and where many of them had laboured from childhood. As a consequence of this unfortunate action, in my estimation, the people sought the means of obtaining a home, and in very large numbers indeed they soon found access to lands lying back in the mountains. At the present time, perhaps, there are no fewer than 75,000 to 80,000 freeholds in Jamaica. These freeholds have connected with them land, on an average, five acres in extent to each. A very large number of those settled on the freeholds will never return, simply because they can get a better living at home on the property they have purchased than they can by going back to the estates. But, notwithstanding this, there are a very large number of people who are prepared to work on the estates on certain conditions, that is to say, when they can get fairly paid, honestly treated, and justly dealt with. I have no hesitation in saying this (and my experience has been rather large and wide in Jamaica), that there are still thousands and tens of thousands of individuals who might be induced to return to work on the estates, if sufficient inducements were held out to them to do so. As a proof of this, I may mention that a large number of our young men have left Jamaica in search of work, and gone down to Panama. The railway at Panama was built mainly by labourers from Jamaica, and more recently they have gone to Leeman Bay. I think they made a mistake in going; but it shows



there is a floating population ready to work if sufficient wages are offered to them. Whether the planters can give them sufficient to induce them to leave their homes, and go down to the estates, it is not for me to say. Again, the peasantry are feeling strongly because it is their money that has been used to introduce a class of persons to take the bread out of their mouths. When Sir John Peter Grant assumed the governorship there was a debt of £450,000 contracted for immigration purposes. That debt is now the debt of the Island, and the people are paying it from their taxes; and I say that from the conversations I have had, and the opportunities I have enjoyed of intercourse with the people, they feel it most deeply that they should have to pay for immigrants who have come to the country and taken the bread out of the mouths of themselves and their families. They also feel deeply that a new debt has been incurred. I refer now to another and a new debt of £150,000, which, however, does not entirely rest on the people, but everybody in Jamaica believes that it will eventually come on the general revenue of the Island. In regard to the coolies, of whom I know a great deal, they are most unfortunate. In physical capacity weak and inefficient, they can do only a certain proportion of the labour work on the estates. As to digging cane-holes and doing the heavier work, they cannot do it; they do the lighter work whilst the creoles, whose money has been spent to bring them out, do all the heavier work. I ought, perhaps, to modify what I said about the labour at the command of planters. At a certain season of the year the planters have a difficulty on this ground; that the crop-time occurs just when the planting season of the people occurs, and at that period of the year difficulties occur in consequence of the absence of labour. But if a different system were adopted by the planters, if they pursued some such plan as the farmers do in this country, and employed labourers all the year round, giving them work on fair wages, that difficulty might be met. The introduction of the coolies is the introduction of a very serious, and in the opinion of many of us, a disastrous element. It is the introduction of a heathen element amongst a partially civilized community, and the immoralities of those coolies are not to be named in decent

society. The numbers committed to prison are to be found in the official records, and as compared to the creoles, I believe they are ten to one. On these grounds, therefore,—the character of the individuals brought into the country, and the employment of the taxes of the people to bring them in,—there are strong objections to the continuance of the system, and if anything could be done to bring the system to an end, I think the very largest margin should be left in order to obtain such a desirable result.

Mr. ROBERT FAUNTLEROY, J.P., of Jamaica said: I have sat once a week, and sometimes twice a week, to hear cases in Jamaica, and there are usually five to one, perhaps ten to one coolies in disgrace to those of the creole race, who are very quiet. At St. Thomas, the habitual trouble is the stoppage of wages, which is continually done in order to ensure their coming back on the Monday. Only one in thirty-two can read or write. I found the creoles a very decent set of people, and finding something said against them the other day, I sat down at Whitstable, and wrote a letter to the *Times* on the subject, which has brought me forty to fifty letters in reply. The black people are always inclined to go to people who pay them honestly. They will come to you in the Court-house in droves of twenty or thirty at a time, and say "All wages are stopped." The magistrate says, "Why?" "Because we will not consent to twopence or threepence reduction." "Well," we say, "they must pay up on Friday, and you can begin the new week as you like." The answer is, "They keep back two weeks' wages." Then there is a disturbance, and the police have to be called in, and sometimes there is a great commotion. There have been several disturbances of this sort in my knowledge; whereas, if there was a stipendiary, to whom the blacks could appeal as the coolies can, it would be a more satisfactory arrangement. The latter are amply protected in sickness or health. They go to their agent, and I think the overseer is often very badly used, for the coolies are over-protected, and the blacks have no such protection. I cast it up that the cost of each coolie is £32. Mr. Rushworth, a magistrate in the Island, made it £56 14s. 6½d. last July. He said on the 19th May, 1876:—"It may be assumed the pre-

sent cost of coolie labour is £56 14s. 6½d." At present this charge is borne in the following proportions, by the employer, £18; on the immigration fund, £31 8s. 10½d; by the general revenues, £7 5s. 8½d. That is the cost of each coolie,—man, woman, and child. And the average pay upon the estates? I have ascertained it from talking to dozens of overseers. It is about 9d. per day all the year round. That is about £10 per annum. It would be far better, my Lord, to give them a bounty on the black people whom they employed; and they themselves have said that. Give them 25s. a head for black people;—if they cannot pay more than 9d. on the average make it up to 1s. or 1s. 6d., and that will be better than paying £56 for each of these sickly people.

It is horrible how they die: they have to stand up to their knees in water often. Out of 16,000, 4,627 died, that is more than 1 in 4. I shall do myself the honor of sending these papers to your Lordship, which have taken me some time to compile: and I am very anxious something should be done, as there is a very unpleasant feeling in the country.

The Rev. E. HEWITT: Will your Lordship allow me to add one fact? In the parish of Trelawney, on one of the largest sugar-producing estates, the production of sugar has kept up to the present average for the last twenty years. Hardly any coolies are employed in the parish. I know the only estate where the people were not driven off in the way I described, and on that estate they are living now, and it is one of the most flourishing in the parish of Hanover.

Dr. UNDERHILL said: My remarks will apply almost entirely to the character of immigration itself. About 400,000 are black people, 80,000 brown, and 15,000 white, in the population of Jamaica. Obviously, the interest of the Island lays with the great majority, and the question comes up, Should these people be sacrificed for the few, whatever advantages the few derive? The general statement is that these black people are very idle, will not work, and are indisposed to afford the labour to the white population which the latter require. I have studied the question very closely, and have come to this clear conclusion—I have no particular favouritism for the black people; I know their faults, and

am quite able to conceive the difficulties under which planters will labour in obtaining their work. The two things stand out, and stand out still as pre-eminently true,—that they are a very docile people, easily managed, whenever they are managed fairly, and they will work for a fair day's wage. The whole question turns on that last point,—the difference between the people and the planters as to what is a fair day's wage. If the planter gives the negroes what to the negroes is a fair day's wage, I am bound to say he will obtain an abundance of labour. A negro on the average can earn on his own plot of ground from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a day: it is obvious he will not go to work on estates at 9d. to 1s. I remember a planter, a gentleman of high position in the Island, who took me over his estate, and explained its arrangements and financial condition. He expressed wonder that he could get plenty of black people to work in the mill but none to work in the field. I asked him what were the wages in the mill. He said "from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. a day." I said "Can't you see the reason they don't go to the field? you pay them a fair wage in the mill, and refuse it in the field." There is another reason for this, which is operating very strongly at this day, and which had its origin in the period of apprenticeship. The planters assembled in all their districts, and laid down certain tables deciding what a day's work should be,—what a task should be. Thus, for example, a task in sugar was sometimes regarded as digging fifty holes for sugar canes a day. They raised that to sixty, to go according to the circumstances of the parish. This gave the negro a standard of labour, and it became obvious that in a free condition the negro would work better, and earn a great deal more, so that it is common for the negro to say, he does one task or two tasks a day. The planters reckon that he should be paid for the amount of one task; that task is a very moderate one, and can often be managed in half a day by a good labourer. But this has given a standard of which the negro is not slow to avail himself. Their ideas as to a day's wage cannot, therefore, easily be made to correspond with the idea of the planter. But my observation went to this, where the planter dealt with them fairly, no difficulty about wages

occurred. The question with the planter in giving a wage of a certain amount to the labourer is, Can he afford to produce sugar which will pay to sell in this country? I ask, is he to be encouraged to grow an article which cannot be grown at a fair price? If he is to have a bounty, what can the Government of Jamaica do better than give a bounty as they are giving at present? We are giving the planter a bounty to produce sugar as the French are doing to their planters. It is unfair to the population, which is thrown out from its lawful right to labour on the land where they were born; where God in His providence has placed them. I have no particular affection for the negro, but I ask for him that he be dealt as fairly by as the labourers of this or any other land. And this is not the case, unquestionably, in this coolie traffic. My only other word is, that I personally have not felt that objection to the coolie traffic which some have. I saw it at Trinidad under very favourable conditions, but because it was a success there, it does not follow that it will be a success in Jamaica, as the circumstances of the two islands are very different, and I fear it has been very different in Jamaica from what it has been in Trinidad. I should be exceedingly sorry to see any change in the Government. (Hear, hear.) I hold that the administration of Sir John Peter Grant was of eminent service—(hear, hear)—and I admire and deeply honour him for the course he adopted in the Island. I should be extremely sorry to see that materially altered, but I should be glad to see a good representation of the coloured people in the Council. I think their voice ought to be heard at least by one gentleman who is able to express the feelings of the masses of the people. It is an anomaly that that Council should only represent the official and the planter element; not that I think the official element is otherwise than eminently well-disposed to the people, and desirous of governing them in the right way. Still it would tend to show a feeling of interest in the people if some representative of that class of the population so extremely numerous in the island were placed in the Council.

The Rev. A. BUZACOTT said: There are one or two points omitted by previous speakers to which I would allude as briefly as possible. One is this: Sir William Grey,

in a published return to the order of the House of Commons, states at the conclusion—"It may, therefore, be said that for immigration proper, as distinguished from colonization, nothing has been paid from the general revenue." Suppose we leave out for a moment all indirect payments, that statement is contradicted by the fact of a liability of £150,000 now remaining unpaid. If the sources of the immigration revenue were devoted entirely to the liquidation of that amount, it would take thirty years to pay it all off, during which time there must not be a single coolie introduced into the Island. I would also beg your Lordship's attention to another point. Referring to the same Parliamentary return, I find that immigration from 100 estates has cost in ten years £513,000, which is something like £5,000 per estate. Now it is a question whether these 100 estates would realise £513,000 if sold in the market. Some of them would realise more; but a considerable majority would realise much less. That is one way of looking at the mode in which the money has been expended in Jamaica.

I have endeavoured to suggest some mode of settling this rather difficult problem. In strict justice the planters by their immigration funds should pay the entire cost, and (that has been their boast all along) repay the entire £150,000. I suppose that is not possible. The feeling throughout Jamaica is that it is not possible. I think I am right in saying the planters themselves affirm that it is not possible. Therefore, to meet the case half way, the other alternative is something like this.

The introduction of labour into Jamaica should absolutely cease.

That all who need foreign labour should provide the same at their own private cost, subject to such rules as are required in the case of emigration from England. This would meet the demand of the peasantry.

Then, for the sake of the planters, the debt now incurred on the immigration fund be transferred to the general revenue of the Island, to be paid off as may be arranged by the Government, provided that no extra taxation be imposed for this special purpose, and therefore that the Island expenditure be reduced in some way so as to meet this obligation.

According to information received from Jamaica, from persons who have been long



resident there, these two provisions could be very easily made. I have only to add, the general feeling throughout Jamaica is one of entire confidence in your Lordship in regard to the settlement of this question. There has been no agitation among the coloured people, and the reason has been their confidence that when your Lordship came to look at this question on all sides you will give them a fair and just consideration. That is also unanimously the feeling of the Committee of the Society represented here to-day. (Hear, hear.) I hope this very vexatious question, which has divided class from class in Jamaica, will now be settled. It is a new standpoint that we have arrived at, and if some plan can be found by which the planters can by a fair wage—and in saying a fair wage I mean that 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. would be regarded by the population as a fair wage—if some plan could be found to give workers on the plantations a fair wage and punctual payments, there would be plenty of labour to meet all demands. I hope the day will not be far distant when your Lordship will have occasion to rejoice that in your tenure of office you have been enabled to do a great act of justice to the 400,000 negroes in the Island of Jamaica.

LORD CARNARVON said: Gentlemen, I have listened with very great attention to everything that has been said, and it appears to me that the statements, whether they command assent or not, have been very fairly, very temperately, and very reasonably expressed. I do not propose, this afternoon, to enter into the details of the very important question which you have brought before me, and for this reason amongst others, that I am to receive, probably a few days hence, another deputation, composed of gentlemen who take a somewhat different view, if not a very different view from that which you do, and I should desire to have the two statements clearly before me, that I may consider the question as a whole, and come to something like a reasonable and fair conclusion upon it. I fully feel the importance of the question, primarily as regards Jamaica and secondarily as regards our Colonies, though some of these other colonies do not seem to stand on precisely the same footing that Jamaica does. I was very glad to receive the deputation, because it gave me the opportunity of having present in this room Sir Anthony Musgrave,

who in a short time will go out to Jamaica to assume the government there, and to succeed Sir William Grey. I was particularly anxious—for he has had experience in the West Indies before—that he should be present on the present occasion. I do not propose to enter into this question, and any remarks which I may make on a few of the topics which have been raised must be received as quite apart from my final conclusion on the matter. There are one or two matters on which I am not sure I quite agree with what has been said. I was very glad to hear from so many speakers successively their opinion that the constitution of Jamaica as now established was, on the whole, satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied myself that it is a very great improvement on the old constitution, and if there be one class in the community whom the change has benefited I believe it is that class in which you are all interested—the peasantry of Jamaica. Therefore, any material change in the constitution would be, from my point of view, a very serious blow to their interests. The last speaker but one said he should desire to see a good representative for the coloured people in the Council. That, of course, is a matter of detail on which I do not pronounce any opinion; but I may point this out, that the planters, on the other hand, complain very often to me of the present constitution of the Legislative Council from this point of view: they say that they are not sufficiently represented; that they have but two representatives, who are confronted by the official members, who look upon themselves as specially entrusted with the charge of all the other interests in the Island, and they, the planters, find themselves insufficiently represented. I only point that out to show that there is a current on the other side. My own opinion is that it is the business of all the official members to consider the interest of the peasantry very closely, and, without making themselves exclusively the representative of those classes, to see that their interests do not suffer. Of course the question of criminality in importing coolies is a very serious matter, and one to which I hope Sir Anthony Musgrave will give his attention as soon as he arrives there. The real question in principle one sees plainly is this: on the one hand that there is abundance of negro labour if only fair wages



are offered; and, secondly, that coolie labour is unnecessary for the due cultivation of the crops of the Island. Of course that is a moot point. I will not say that what you have stated to-day has not its great force. I have understood out of this room, and in other places, that whilst there is a disinclination on the part of the negroes to work in the cane-fields they do work in the factories. Of course, if they receive from 2s. 6d. there, and only 9d. elsewhere, a certain explanation is found in that fact. You have, moreover, in what has been stated by one speaker, the remarkable circumstance that there are between 70,000 and 80,000 negroes who now become small proprietors, and who would not be tempted for any consideration to go to work either in the factories or in the fields. Both these are considerations which of course would weigh strongly with the planter, and which he might fairly use on his side of the argument. Then, of course, there is a second question—and a large question it is—how far it is right to apply any portion of the public funds in importing these immigrants for the sake of any particular class in the community. I think, as I say, that is a question of a very serious nature, which must be carefully considered. I am not sure I go along with those who say that that is a sacrifice of the majority to the minority. I don't think in these cases you can altogether separate so closely one interest in the community from another, but that, after all, that which really benefits largely one and an important interest will generally be found to benefit indirectly and in other ways other interests. I do not want to argue the point, but it strikes me that this is an illustration which is worth at all events considering as very applicable. Take the case of a Crown colony and of a responsible Government. In the case of the Crown colony of Ceylon, railroads are being made at this moment which cost a great deal of money to benefit, no doubt, only one portion of the community in one locality and one particular set of planters; and yet these railroads are paid for by the whole community and, as far as I know, this is done cheerfully. Again, take one of the large responsible Governments of Australia, with almost universal suffrage and vote by ballot. There you find the objections urged on the part of the existing artisans against

the import of emigrants which you have *mutatis mutandis* in Jamaica. But there you find that every year a certain sum, not a large sum, is appropriated without objection and paid for by the whole country. In the same way arrangements may be made which benefit, perhaps, only one special class of the community—the agricultural section—and the expenses of it is defrayed from the general funds. Therefore I say I do not think we must lay down too rigid a principle in these matters. I do not think you can separate so absolutely the interests of one class from those of another. You must try to deal with them as a whole, and by benefiting one class and improving the position of that class you indirectly confer a great benefit on the whole. In all these questions of politics and administration it is only fair that there must be a good deal of giving and taking. Having said that, I have said all that is necessary at the present moment. I will add this satisfaction to you—that I do not feel satisfied with the present state of things in Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) How far my dissatisfaction goes I will not say, and I don't want the meaning of my words to be strained; nor, of course, will they convey the least imputation upon those two very able Governors, Sir John Grant and Sir William Grey, who have governed Jamaica. They have discharged their duties with the highest ability, and with success. My words apply to the system, and not to the individual; but the amount of dissatisfaction is such as to induce me to look into the matter at all events, and to decide as fairly and as honestly as I can. I shall have the assistance—the experienced assistance—of Sir Anthony Musgrave, when he reaches the spot, and all the experience that he has gained in other colonies which can be brought to bear on this question. I look at the position of the debt, to which allusion has been made, as a very serious one, which must be grappled with somehow or other—(hear, hear); and I am not without great hopes that the expenditure in many administrative works, which is large, may be susceptible of curtailment. I do not think the Deputation expect me to say more, or that it is desirable I should say more. I wish to keep my mind unprejudiced until I have had further information on the subject, but I look to dealing with it as far as I can, and to arrive at some con-

clusion which will be deemed fair and reasonable by all parties and not by one alone.

Mr. BLAKE, M.P., thanked the noble lord for his courtesy, and the Deputation then retired.

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#### OBSERVATIONS ON LORD CARNARVON'S REPLY TO THE DEPUTATION ON COOLIE IMMIGRATION IN JAMAICA.

It is scarcely needful to say that Lord Carnarvon received the Deputation with his usual courtesy, and listened very attentively to what was said in his presence. It was gladdening to hear that his lordship shared the feeling of dissatisfaction expressed by the Deputation, although this sentiment was uttered with the usual reserve. We wish to refer particularly to his lordship's remarks on the impossibility of separating clearly the interests of one class of the population from those of another. No doubt, speaking generally, this is true, provided that in any given scheme, the interests of one class be not exclusively considered,—and so considered and carried out to the obvious damage of all other classes. Why should less than half the estates of Jamaica entail so great an injury on the other estates as well as on the whole population? More than half the estates can and do get on without indentured labour. Why should nine men suffer to confer a benefit, and that a doubtful benefit, on the tenth? And his lordship's illustration, does not support his purpose. There is no analogy between the railways of Ceylon and the coolie question in Jamaica, except in one point,—both are paid for by general taxation. But there the analogy fails.

In Ceylon, the labouring class may not be greatly benefited by the introduction of railways, as a means of transit, but they have received, in the shape of wages, their share of benefit. The taxation has been spent or may be spent on those who are taxed. In Jamaica, the cost of coolie immigration, is received by those who pay no taxes whatever, by those who do not contribute to the cost of the system. The

whole cost is spent on an alien people introduced for the purpose, and to the lessening of the price of labour in the Island.

In Ceylon, the railway is a great boon to the Island—increasing the wealth of the Island, and open to the use of all who will avail themselves of its advantages. In Jamaica, the coolie immigration is wholly for the sake of a few planters who, for lack of management, of kindly treatment of their labourers, and punctual payments, find themselves in difficulty. If coolie labour produce any wealth, that wealth goes into the pockets of a few—say one hundred persons at most,—and that wealth is probably spent in England, most probably in London.

We venture to assert, that while in special cases the rule may be true—that we cannot wisely separate the interest of one class from those of others too severely, his lordship's analogy confirms the position of the Deputation—that this coolie immigration is not one of those special cases, and is therefore, an injustice and a wrong, while the railway system in Ceylon, may be one of such special cases. We earnestly hope Lord Carnarvon will put an end to the iniquitous system. It will be a rude shock to native confidence in British Justice if the system be continued. Are one hundred persons to be favoured, and five hundred thousand persons to be injured? The settlement of this question will deepen or destroy the confidence of a lately emancipated people in English fair play.

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#### NEW WITNESSES IN REFERENCE TO THE LABOUR QUESTION IN JAMAICA.

HITHERTO we have had in England only the views of those who advocate Coolie Immigration. It was obvious enough that where 140 estates are paying annually for coolies which are employed by the remaining 100 sugar estates of Jamaica, there would be a considerable feeling among planters on the injustice of their paying for the advantage of a section only of their limited class. But somehow, these planters have been restrained, and in deference to their class have paid and said nothing. Happily

for the cause of truth and justice, there are other employers of labour in Jamaica, and these cannot be "held in with bit and bridle." In the *Times* of April 9th, 1877, we find a letter from Robert Fauntleroy, Esq., J.P., giving his experience on the labour question in Jamaica,—a brave and noble testimony on the question, such as has not been given for many a day. Of course we have had the old and oft-refuted statements of the "West Indian," but nothing can shake the facts narrated by Mr. Fauntleroy. And now the spell is broken we may have many similar "experiences." We thank Mr. Fauntleroy for his letter, which, without his knowledge, confirms the truth and justice of the views and action of this Society on the labour question in Jamaica.

#### THE NEW WITNESS.

*"To the Editor of the 'Times.'"*

"Sir,—I feel pleasure in confirming, for the most part, the excellent letter printed in the *Times* of the 3rd inst., dated from Kingston, Jamaica, March 10th, but upon the labour question permit me to state my experience.

"For many years I resided continuously in the most notorious district of Jamaica, then known as St. Thomas in the East. I left England for Port Morant soon after the "Rebellion," of 1865, and, without solicitation or personal knowledge, I reluctantly accepted the offer of the Governor to become, for a term, Custos Rotulorum (unpaid); my commission as J.P. I still hold, being now absent from Jamaica for a short time only. As an employer of negroes I cannot truthfully speak of them as your correspondent does, for an over-supply of well-fed black people were daily to be found at my factory gates; one day a celebrated London engineer (then resident under my roof) remarked that I had sent away upwards of eighty, having no room for more. In no way did I treat negroes differently from my custom previously with my English labourers for a score of years, and so my bamboo and cocoon were satisfactorily collected and prepared for the paper manufacturer, at a cost (including wages of all classes) not exceeding 1s. per head per day, and frequently as low as 10½d. We worked hard from seven until eleven, then we rested till noon, resuming work until four; but, without extra pay, many volunteers would work later whenever their own work seemed (to

them) to require it. From the day I landed from the Royal Mail steamer until now, my opinion of black people has been unaltered, and I would sooner direct 500 of them than 100 British working men. None of these terribly ignorant, 'debased' St. Thomas peasantry ever robbed me, were rude to me, or put me in Court, and I had no occasion ever to sue them; indeed I entered the Aceldama (I mean the Morant Bay) Court-hall for the first time when, at the desire of his Excellency, I took the oaths and my seat as chief magistrate to try twenty-six cases.

"You will admit, sir, that it would be ungrateful and cowardly in me to be silent after reading your correspondent's words—"it will be absolutely necessary to import a fresh supply of labour.' Such is indeed not the fact. My own experience will be confirmed by other employers, who, working in a quiet, God-fearing manner, are, somehow, taken no note of, while gentlemen of position who interest themselves in the importation (at a vast annual cost, and increase to our public debt) of many thousands of weakly, puny coolies, are eagerly listened to. In one year (while I was Custos) 140 died in the small district around my house; each had cost £16 to import, and at the end of their term, each one aged sixteen and upwards (male and female) would have been paid by Government a bonus of £12, and all aged three years and under sixteen, would have received £6. Better food I have seen supplied to these heathens than poor white men can buy, and, knowing what I do know from hearing the never-ending complaints of the creole negroes against the Asiatics, I protest against the statement that 'more labourers are wanted.' The sugar estates employ 30,000, and 450,000 manage to live apart from the large planters. Any Englishman, moral, kind, firm, and good-tempered, may go to Jamaica and easily get hundreds of competent hands; it is but a question of management. Pardon the length of this letter.

"I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

"ROBERT FAUNTLEROY.

*"Whitstable, Kent, April 6."*

Another new witness:—

#### NEGROES *versus* COOLIES.

"Mr. W. F. Catcheside writes to us from Paternoster Row:—"As an employer of labour in Jamaica, I am pleased to confirm Mr. Fauntleroy's experience as detailed in



his letter of the 6th inst. I was for nearly two years the manager of a fibre factory in the Island, and during that period saw a great deal of the negro and his peculiarities. I quite agree with Mr. Fauntleroy that the matter of labour is but a question of management. The qualities required by a master in Jamaica are kindness, firmness, good temper (all named in Mr. Fauntleroy's letter), and fair dealing. There is a very bad system in vogue among masters of deducting a certain amount of pay from a labourer's earnings, if any dissatisfaction exists. I never did this, but if I found a negro idling, or neglecting his work, I immediately discharged him. I employed some sixty hands, all negroes, and they were overlooked by English foremen, and I am bound to admit that I suffered so much trouble and worry from the latter men that I was compelled to discharge them. With the negroes I had a little trouble at first, until they understood my system. They had no idea I meant to discharge them when I said so, but when they found I was in earnest I had no further inconvenience. I found them willing to work at my word, either at the factory or any distance, sober and quite contented, provided they were paid regularly and fairly. I quite endorse Mr. Fauntleroy's words:—"I would sooner direct 500 of them than 100 British working men." There is no doubt that the Jamaica negro is lazy and very dishonest if left to himself. If a master cannot inspire respect and some kindly interest in his servants or labourers they had better part. But in Jamaica there are many Englishmen who, from being nobodies at home, feel transmuted into squires and large men when they get command of a Colonial estate, and treat the natives with overbearing demeanour and haughty intolerance. Such men had far better remain at home, where their insignificance keeps them within bounds. The negroes don't like this tyrannical treatment, and feel no care or interest for their employer. I found that an appropriate and timely joke put a negro into capital humour, and made him feel at home and a part of the estate and its well-being. I got my labourers to work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.—the sole objections coming from the English foremen. I found the men also very vigilant during the night shift, and quite equal to coolies and Chinese labourers, both of whom I have employed. Of course I

had to discharge many men before getting a suitable staff of negroes, but after some perseverance and trouble I had a body of negroes who gave no trouble, did their work properly, and never left me until the factory closed. I personally lost nothing from them, my garden provisions were unmolested, and my house never unpleasantly visited. I think you will agree with me that in a colony of ignorant natives much of their character will depend upon local influences. White men are looked up to with fear and respect, until they lose such sentiments by their own conduct. Many visitors to the Island form hasty conclusions and condemn the negro in a wholesale manner, and praise the imported labour without any shadow of reason for either statement, but I think Mr. Fauntleroy is quite correct when he sums up the whole question by declaring it is but a question of management."—*Times*, April 10.

### Reviews.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE. *General en chef de l'armée de SAINT DOMINIQUE, surnommé le premier des Noirs.* Paris: Durand et Cie. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils.

We welcome the appearance of the above work, giving to the public the life and career of perhaps the most extraordinary black man who ever lived.

M. Gragnon-Lacoste, an author already known in the Republic of Letters, has brought to his task an enthusiastic admiration of the great and noble qualities of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and all the advantages afforded by the possession of private records and State papers preserved in the private keeping of some members of the family of L'Ouverture.

In the interests of humanity and justice it is much to be regretted that these documents should not have been given to the public long ago, and nearer in point of time to the stirring and extraordinary events to which they refer. Our space will not allow us to make extracts from this important and very interesting work, but we cordially commend it, and trust it will have many readers, especially in the United States of America, where prejudice against colour is still the frequent cause of acts of the most atrocious cruelty.

We observe a proposal is made to erect a public monument to the memory of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and that a committee of the following gentlemen for the purpose of carrying out the object has been formed in Bordeaux—Chambaud, Ursleur Frères, de Cayenne; Deves Frères, du Sénégal; Paul, de Bordeaux; James Clarck, des États-Unis d'Amérique.

Subscriptions towards the object may be sent to M. L. C. Gentil, President of the General Committee, rue Cabirol, 1, Bordeaux, by whom they will thankfully be acknowledged.

Whether the design of these excellent men be accomplished in this way or not, the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture is his monument, as our own poet Wordsworth has said:—

"Toussaint, . . . . thou hast left behind  
Powers that will work for thee—air, earth,  
and skies;  
There's not a breathing of the common wind  
That will forget thee—thou hast great allies;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

DER VERLOREM WELTHEIL oder die Sklaverei und der Menschenhandel in der Gegenwart von JOSEPH COOPER. Mit Authorisation des Verfassers von HERMAN SOYAux, weil, Botaniker der I. deutschen Expedition in Südwest-Africa. BERLIN. 1877: Julius Bohne, W. Wilhelmsstrasse.

The above is a translation into German of "The Lost Continent," which was published by Messrs. Longmans, London, in 1875. Mr. Herman SoyAux, being himself an African traveller, takes a deep and intelligent interest in everything which affects that great continent.

Like M. Laboulaye, who wrote a preface to the French translation, Mr. SoyAux endorses the opinion of the author of the work, that it never will be practicable to put an end to the slave-trade whilst the demand for slaves continues to exist in the countries bordering upon Africa. He contends, in an able and comprehensive preface, that steam, and commerce, and agriculture, alone or together, will not extinguish the slave-trade. It may be pent up for a time, but it will make for itself new channels, and will not be extinguished until slavery is put down. As to Colonial slavery and its modifications, in the shape of coolie or forced labour, Mr. SoyAux rejoices that Germany, having no

colonies of her own, is clear of the iniquity. Nevertheless, he condemns his countrymen for aiding and abetting these evils both by sea and land, and advocates for all such the severest punishment. It is quite evident that he would gladly see all nations declare the slave-trade piracy.

He complains of the conduct of Portugal, and especially of the injurious effects of the practice of sending her criminals to Loanda and Mosambique.

For the sake of brevity he has omitted some parts of the work, which we think is rather to be regretted. Nevertheless, we congratulate Mr. SoyAux on his labours, and rejoice to believe that they will contribute to create an increasing amount of interest in the welfare of Africa, and through that continent will add to the prosperity of the world at large. The translation is dedicated to General Consul Sturz, of Berlin, to whose philanthropic exertions through a long life Mr. SoyAux pays a well-merited and graceful tribute.

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Taylor, A. and E., Tottenham	...		0	10	6
Thompson, S., York	...		0	10	0
" W. B., F.R.S.E. Edin-	...				
burgh	...		1	1	0
Whitehouse, Rev. J. O., Upper Hol-	...				
loway	...		0	10	0

# British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

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## THE ANNUAL MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON

FRIDAY, JUNE 1ST,

AT THE

CANNON STREET HOTEL,  
LONDON, E.C.

**HENRY PEASE, Esq.,**

(OF DARLINGTON,)

WILL TAKE THE CHAIR AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

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*FURTHER PARTICULARS WILL BE ANNOUNCED.*

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DONATIONS and SUBSCRIPTIONS for THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be received by WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq., Treasurer, 27, New Broad Street, E.C., or by the Secretary.

Subscribers for the "REPORTER" should kindly send Post-Office Orders to Rev. AARON BUZACOTT, B.A., at General Post Office, E.C.

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### SUGGESTED FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE SOCIETY.

"I give to the TREASURER for the time being, or to the person for the time being acting as such, of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and whose receipt I direct shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, the sum of £            sterling [free of Legacy Duty], to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose."

[Devises of land, or money charged on land, or secured on mortgage of land or tenements, are void; but money or stock may be given by Will, if not directed to be laid out in land.]

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MAY 7, 1877.

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